/6 cont./

133 a torrent, asif i-yseksawan, or Lwâd Sseksawa. This basin is circumscribed by an arête of high mountains, which encloses it on three sides (Fig. 2).[1] The Dir, then the plain called Bujmâda today form the outlet. The torrent loses its name there. Already it has become, from the little plain of Tuz'z'umt up to /7/ Buᶜanfir, in Ud Besseḥᶜ, Lwâd n-Qihra or Wâd Lqîhra. The limits, from this side, have all the haziness of a past that informs us poorly on the limitation of the Seksawa adventure toward the North.

Here then is a country being identified, partially no doubt, but definitely, with a fluvial basin. This completely classical identification is followed, in great detail, by the division of the basin into cantons, which correspond at the same time to a secondary personality and to the unity of an affluent torrent. This valley forms the last opening of the great chain toward the W. It interrupts this mountainous façade, which its indigenous denomination of Dir qualifies admirably by evoking the breaststrap of a harnessed horse (1).

1. The deciphering of the country is greatly facilitated by the "Croquis orographique du Grand Atlas occidental, depuis l'oued ait Mousi jusqu'à la chaîne Igdet-Erdouz /Orographical sketch of the western Great Atlas, from the Ait Mousi wadi to the Igdet-Erdouz chain/" at 1/100,000, drawn up initially by J. Dresch (in color), and by the series of maps at 1/200,000 appended to his Documents sur les genres de vie de montagne dans le massif central du Grand Atlas /Documents on the kinds of mountain life in the central massif of the Great Atlas/, 1941. [126] This documentation, which we have always kept present on our journeys, and which we have filled in chiefly with regard to the toponymy and reinterpreted with the aid of aerial coverage carried out since 1950, is the basis of our own

1, [For figure 2, see pp. 15-16--Analyst]

/7 cont./

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[126]

/footnote 1 continued/ investigation and of all the cartography of this study.

Moreover the term lacks precision. It indistinctly indicates the slope and its piedmont. In the landscape this slope is neither continuous nor unique. When one looks at the Atlas from the route from Mogador to Marrakech, a little beyond Chichaoua, or, better still, when one observes it from the camel pasturage of the Lmjjûn, in Ud Bessabîc, one perceives a first ripple running in the vanguard: in the present case it is that of Talamenzu. This defense along a preliminary rampart is accentuated as one goes toward the E. It is striking from several points along the imperial route long before and long after Marrakech. At the height of the Seksawa, on the other hand, from Chichaoua to Bulcwân, there is no denivellation. This is what the S.-N. descent of the thalweg of the river indicates, which is accompanied on its right as well as on its left by divergent séguias /water conduits/, some common to the Seksawa, to the Dwiran, and to the Ud Bessebîc. This solidarity, or this continuity, is not without incidence. The same lay of the land rises again, a little more to the W., toward another "bouche" /mouth, opening/, that of Imi n-Tanut, commanding the access to the Sous by the Tizi Umachchô and the
[487] Bwibaun. The old sultanian route makes use of it after having skimmed over the Dir from E. to W. (2).

2. One can find an already considerable mass of information on this itinerary in E. Renou, Description géographique de l'empire du Maroc /Geographical description of the empire of Morocco/, 1846, pp. 187, 190, 204, which condenses a great number of travel accounts.

000 Let us imagine the Mussulman traveler of the thirteenth century coming from Fès /Fez/ or Andalousie /Andalusia/ and whom the lure of trade or the quest of knowledge

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 17]

/20/ II. A Rural Landscape

Vegetation Levels

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133 This rising by tiers is confirmed when one examines the plants that are arranged in echelons from the 740 meters of the ford of Tagoyyamt up to the 3,400 meters of the Ras Mulay Ali (1).

1. Note of L. Emberger on "La végétation du massif des Seksawa /The vegetation of the massif of the Seksawa/," in Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Sciences, meeting of November 5, 1934. Other than the explorations (in progress) of MM. Sauvage and Quézel, it is the only information peculiar to the Seksawa. Nevertheless, on the general level, I profitably consulted L. Emberger, Aperçu général sur la végétation du Maroc /General survey of the vegetation of Morocco/, 1938; Ch. Sauvage, "La richesse de la flore marocaine /The richness of Moroccan flora/," Bull. de l'Enseignement public du Maroc, No. 216, 1952; on a neighboring domain, R. Maire, Etudes sur la végétation et la flore du Grand Atlas et du Moyen Atlas marocains /Studies on the vegetation and the flora of the Moroccan Great Atlas and Middle Atlas/, 1924. Finally my own -- and certainly inexpert -- attempts at herborization have been greatly helped by the botanical identifications of MM. Sauvage, Vindt, and Nègre, who might be pleased to find here an expression of my gratitude.

• [126]

133 Between these differences of altitude, the exposure plays a more decisive role as the habitat and the irrigation huddle at the bottom of the valleys, and the meridian orientation of the principal axis increases the effects of insolation. As in all mountain

[Agersili]

/191 cont./

634 619 613 This specialization by sectors seems to be a corollary of the amplification of the group. It is complementary to another rule ordering the equilibrium of the group on the space that it occupies, by the minute samplings. Thus it is that the Idma are divided into five branches. They themselves are divided into 33 ikhs-s, two of which now extinct. The average size of an ikhs [162] can thus be estimated at 13 houses, 15; 5 foyers, 67; 74 persons. Of these five branches, four are represented at Usikis, three at Ad'erd'ur. Two seem to be concentrated particularly in one village, for example, Tasselli or Ad'erd'ur. Among the ikhs-s themselves, two are represented in several villages. One, the Iseqqalen, is represented everywhere. It is evidently the dominant group.

A harmony, obeying simple laws of balanced representation, is thus recognized in the composition that prevails between the Idma and their country. But an even more refined harmony prevails in the distribution of the grounds. How, in the case of Agersili, the division of the ground into quarters is combined with that of the group into ikhs-s: this is what will stand out from the table on the following page. /See p. 269./

Comments on the Table

613 423 242 312 [126] This table with its figures was drawn up by myself, following numerous cross-checkings on the spot, one of which was made in August, 1950, in the presence of J. Dresch. It is confirmed in large part by another table, this one figurative, drawn up by a scholar from Ad'erd'ur. The native figure is based, no longer on the division by quarters, but on the service by ditches. As the quarter here has a technical definition, that is, of being served by one main sluice, the result comes out the same. Nevertheless a fluctuation in the number of parcels: 3,546 according to the first method, 3,670 according to the second one. A coefficient of incertitude of some 4% is negligible. Thus let us study the principal traits that flow from this ensemble of indices, calculable, one sees, with sufficient exactitude.

/277 cont./
the usual procedure of these obligations of group to patron. Such testimony is rare: the beneficiaries keep them secret (2).

2. We have been able, however, to procure for ourselves at the zaouia of the Mez'ud'a one of these acts, which we reproduce as Figure 10, page 390.

Perhaps even many of these contracts are pure etiology of a custom in being and for which one should have tried to place the origin and to find the explanation.

Let us pass now to a second element of institution: these mâruf-s of which there has already been mention many times. This word, used here rather than that of musem, has been attested since an ancient epoch and paradoxically combines the Koranic notion of "good" and that of "customary usage." Veritable play on words, which seems intended, since a number of customary codifications have feigned to be based on it and sometimes even yet it is invoked by /278/ /Fig. 10 appears here/ /279/ innovating jurists. The mârûf is the seasonal rite incumbent on a group with regard to a saint. It usually includes a blood sacrifice, tighersi, but differs from other gatherings, such as the tinubga or tiwilt, which have no religious import. The chchard' is found in the old acts in the form of testamentary prescriptions, accompanied by invocations and conditional curses: last words of the dying saint to his servants. Sometimes accompanied by homilies, it constitutes, for multisecular lapses, the charter regulating the relations of a group with the local representative of the sacred.

Several saints possess an estate, rras l-mâl, maintained from year to year by the sale of pieces of meat. This sale is done at auctions. It releases the emulation, itself ostentation, which this kind of concourse calls up. But the money owed is almost never demandable until the following year. An embryo of credit thus forces its way through. It includes inscription on written rolls and the montagnard notariate is actively occupied with it. Elsewhere we have described the demarcations between the profane

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 391]

/From p. 278 of the original source./

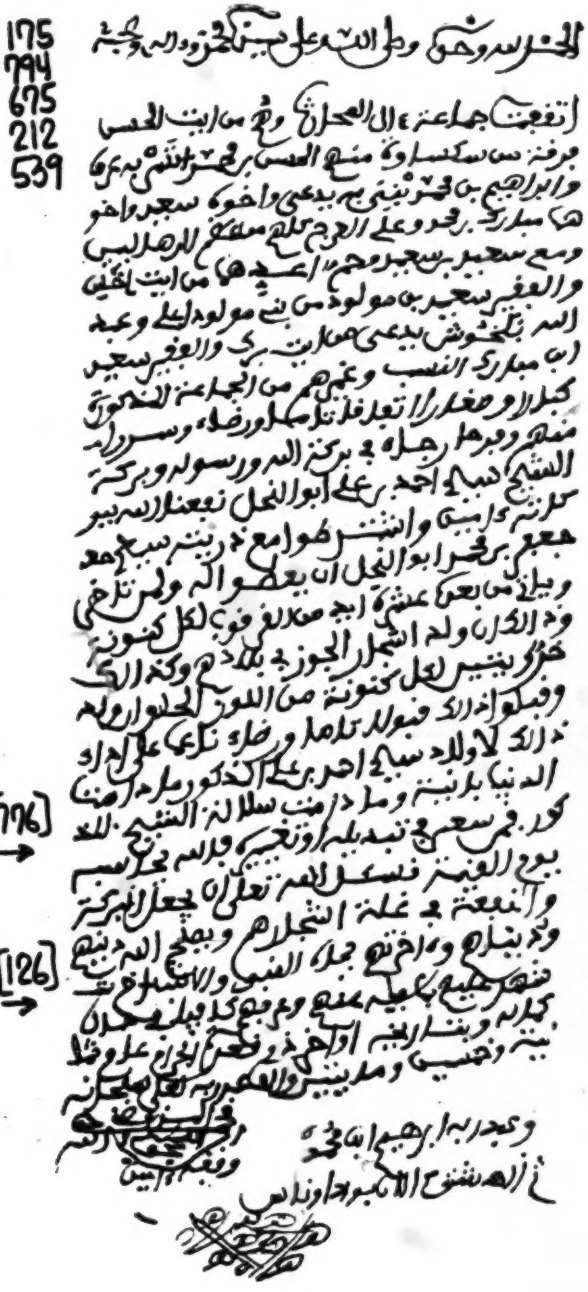

Fig. 10

Act by which the jemâa of the Iwulla took it upon themselves to pay a tithe to Sidi Ah'mad u ᶜAli, 1258 Heg. = 1840. In exchange, the saint would assure the material and spiritual prosperity of the group (in fine). Collected at the zâwiya of the Mez'ud'a.

175 683 671 779 /381 cont./
considerations upon the tariff for facial wounds, evaluated at 1/20 of the dîâ, that is, 72 Abbassian mithqâls-s. An opinion by a fqih from Arghen already mentioned (act of Tinwalin of 175 681 671 779 1198 Heg.: 1784) is based conjointly on the Tuh'fa and on "what rules in the matter of ᶜorf and of ᶜâda in the country of Sous, from Fès /Fez/ to the Sous, in the matter /382/ of fines and of inçâf: and this is licit for these countrymen."

671 This pedantic contamination between the statute and the native law is not alone in revealing the true nature of these codifications. From what one is going to see now, even though it is only a matter of indications or traces, will doubtless stand out traits probably more authentic. The preamble of all these texts has already been noted. It is an agreement recording the unanimity of a group on its maçâlih', on its property. One knows indeed what use Malékite /Maliki/ empiricism can make 671 779 of this latter notion. But enough allowance has been made for the religious impregnations of the system for one also to seek to disclose there another inspiration, that of a collective pragmatism, making sure of its legitimacy by the pursuit of its material 671 and moral interests. This legitimacy manifests itself by social 634 contract. This is not an accident. The contractual aspect is in 675 fact quite striking in these testimonies. This is a mutual commitment among them on the one hand, with the promoted moqaddem on the other, to which the ikhs chiefs subscribe. It obligates them as it obligates the moqaddem, and if the latter, curiously enough, does not figure in the act it is because the consensus of the patres is deemed to entail his conditioned adherence on the basic points stipulated by the document. A contract thus becomes the law of the group.

The clauses most often constitute a veritable tariffed charter. It is rare to read, as in this document of 961 Heg.: 1583 (Idaw Geryun), that the moqaddem and his assistants "will take" what they please. Such a tone is isolated. In the totality of the cases [126] it is a matter of a minute tarifficâtion. A large number of these documents has been collected by us in the high valley.

Pl. XIII

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The a. Lh'sen high country Cl. J. Berque

[778] The two valleys of Wanz'id' and Iwulla are separated by the relief of the Ameznir. The important sanctuary of Sidi Musa is found in the rocky mole at the base of the Ameznir. Contrast between the deep valleys and spacious planes that reach about 2,000 meters. In the bottom the tabular limestones of the Dwiran, which bound the Seksawa country on the west.

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212
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787

Predictions collected at Tasa, in the archives of the amghar Ah'med .. Umulid. Chleuh /Shluh/ text, in prophetic style.